Auen

/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the ǂAuin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 182 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

144 171 There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] 144 197 I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/135 cont./

144 197 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

141 Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ǂAuin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)		
Average	1.51 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.62	meters
Minimum height	1.47	meters
Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)		
Average	1.45 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.53	meters
Minimum height	1.38	meters

A. Geography and Statistics

131 The ǂAuin, as they call themselves and as they are known to the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The 101 Hottentot designate the ǂAuin as ǂAu-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ǂAukwé (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ǂǂ, which indicates the click.

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

[772] !Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba. The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine [774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gaúa-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu [171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

● 197 192 [101] Finally, a number of words indicate that these people are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(°)
Stars	/nāmirŏ-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	nawab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(°)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(°)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(°)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

[14 cont.]

192
197

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Elephant	≠koá-ba	≠koáb
Hare	!kai-éba	!kàirab
Man	áure ba	áob
Woman	taréṣha, taréqueta	taris
Child	/koá ruba	/gob
Encampment	//gaun-kwá	//gāus
Head	tanába	tanas
Eye	mu-i	mus
Ears	/gai-i	//noub
Mouth	am-ba	ams
Teeth	//gu-i	//gu-ĩ
Tongue	tamba	nami(*)
Nose	/kui-ba	/guis
Hand	!koam-ba	!omi
Foot	/gai-i	/eis
Ground	/kawa	khas
Arrow	/kaau-i	/ab(*)
Poison	!khore-ai	!gab, !gurub
Palm tree	/haiba	--

Of 29 words only six roots (*) show no relationship with Nama.

Chapter 5

The Bushmen of Uukualuthi

115
[177]

In all Uukualuthi, Uonkolonkathi, and Ombarantu, there are, reportedly, only two Bushmen left who understand the old language. Both of them are good-for-nothing loafers who go from one beer pot to another. Thanks to the kind offices of the missionary, Mrs. Aarni, Chief Moala made one of these men available to me. To be sure, he could not hold out for very long, and during the few days that he devoted to us, he was rarely sober. We had to limit our conversations to the forenoon. What I learned from him is a dying way of life that no longer has any continuity. The man faced the situation with the cheerful resignation of the CHRONIC, GOOD-NATURED IMBIBER ...

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
● [197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

/259 cont./

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below 0^{o} [centigrade].
[513] Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among
● 197 the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the language is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental
click, // the lateral click, / the cerebral [retroflex] click, and
[104] ≠ the palatal click. By ⋮ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

821 *N/ow*[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

132 About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water
137 holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

105 The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are
821 nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

132 Summer is the season of the ' big rains ' in the western Kalahari. ' Little rains '—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The ' big rains ' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

821 The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call */ga kwe disi*—*/ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

[532] Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and cover-
[532] ing it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, ' You are doing very well ', or, ' Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */go -k"wisi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */go* and *//go* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//go kwe disi*.

There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the Kalahari.

The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (1929). They are !h3:, the closely interrelated ||ganakwe, !gikwe and Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!h3: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls !nu||en, S6 in her system of classification. Bleek's spelling is !k3:, but I heard the click aspirated. It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south of Ghanzi.

||ganakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by Maingard (1957).

The centre of the !gikwe language appears to be in the country to the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khũ linguistic group and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khũ.

The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern !khũ language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929) with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has been the convention to place the n after the click in the written Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936: 448) and used the symbol ɦ.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of this introductory chapter.

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuanaland Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among them are included the *ǂAukwe* or *ǂAo-//ĕin* in the south between Sandfontein and */Gam*, the *Ssu-ǂgnassi* to the northeast and the *ǂKŭng* to the northwest. 101 131

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Grootfontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in northwestern Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with */Kung* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari. 101 131 177 [174] [197] [582] [191 197]

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the latter half of the last century only a few individuals have survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the */Huib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The */Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct. 101 131

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you
[37] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabit-
[16] ants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several language groups. Their languages are related to each other and
[19] to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi-
[19] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a *g*, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

7

THE !KUNG BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI DESERT

about the chapter

For the anthropologist, the Bushmen are one of the world's most intriguing peoples, as they are virtually unique physically, linguistically, and culturally. The physical anthropologist cannot place the Bushmen in any one of the recognized major racial groupings: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, or Negroid. Similarly, linguists have placed their language in a category, Khoisan, apart from other African language families. The velar "clicks" that characterize Khoisan languages are apparently found nowhere in the world outside of Africa.

The culture of the Bushmen shows the imprint of their harsh and barren desert habitat, and, as Marshall points out, the ethos of their culture is dominated by the quest for survival. Many Bushman cultural institutions are molded by certain ecological constants: water, the location of water holes, water-storing plants, and other edible wild plants, the movements of game. The size of the band, the daily cycle of labor, the low incidence of polygyny, are all aspects of culture marked in this way. Certain other Bushman institutions, however, are not simply cultural creations passively molded by habitat; rather, they give the Bushmen better than even odds to defy the limitations which their habitat imposes. Such culture patterns are their skillful hunting techniques, their institutionalized patterns of sharing, and their strong striving for cooperation and harmony. Few cultures give the observer such a rich opportunity to study the two-way interaction between habitat and culture.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

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A Headman ǂToma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80). [194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops 197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (ǂ). The southern Bushman lan-

[p. 244]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xũ) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[6]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, increasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Wellington (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been meaningfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /õassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 20°34'36" E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

114 and we worked jointly at Dobe until the study terminated on January 8, 1965. The study dates and places are summarized in Table 1.

A note on orthography

197 The linguistic status of the !Kung Bushmen will be dis-
194 cussed in Chapter II. As there is still no general agreement among linguists on the phonemes of the !Kung language, a brief list of phonemes is offered here to facilitate the pronounciation of Bushman words used in the text.[1]

Vowels

1. i - as in English "fit, feet"
2. e - as in English "fate, fed"
3. ə - as in English "the, but"
4. u - as in English "book, boor"
5. o - as in English "bore, ball"
6. a - as in English "bat, bar"

Dipthongs

7. au - as in "cow, now, thou"
8. ai - as in "by, sky, bite"
9. ei - close to "bay, bait"
10. iu - no English equivalent; falls between "see" and "Sue"

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[1] A phonemic analysis of !Kung is in preparation and will be presented elsewhere. The present listing is oversimplified.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non-Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

Languages

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114 Due to the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963), the classification and geography of the click languages has been put on a firmer footing. The author's observations confirm Westphal's scheme in its essentials, but differ on certain details.

197 Among the peoples called Sarwa there are two major linguistic subdivisions:

1. A group of genetically related languages which collectively and individually are related to the Nama and Korana dialects of Hottentot. These languages are called by Westphal Tshu-khwe and were formerly known as the Central group of Bushmen languages.

2. Three languages which are distinct from the Hottentot-related group and distinct from one another. These Westphal calls "Bush A, B, and C." Bush A used to be known as Northern Bushman, Bush B and C as Southern Bushman.

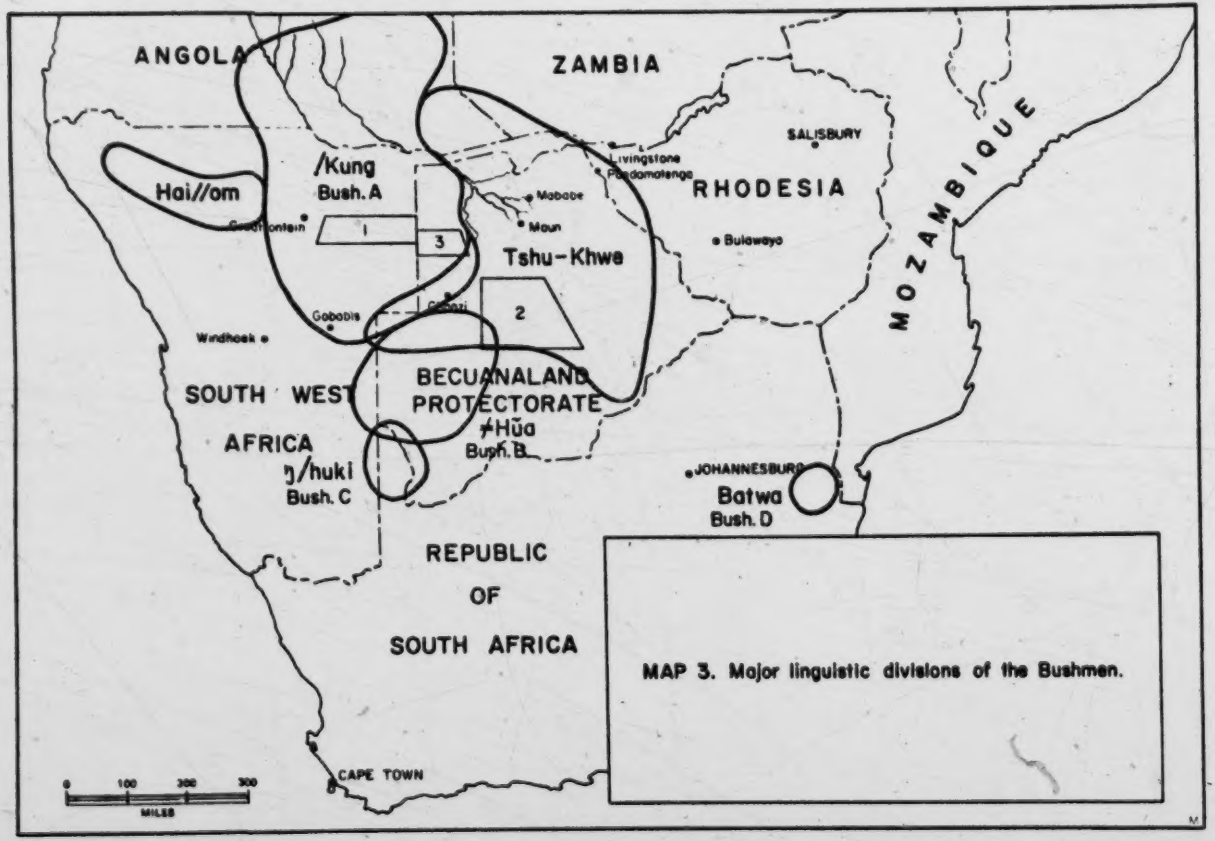
The distribution of these languages is plotted on Map 3, p. 16.

Tshu-khwe - Five related languages are distinguished here. It appears that adjacent dialects are mutually intelligible, but speakers of languages that are geographically separated cannot understand each other.

The five languages are:

Xũ - known as Kwengo in Barotseland, Hukwe in the Eastern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]



MAP 3. Major linguistic divisions of the Bushmen.

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Caprivi, and Bukakwe in the Western Caprivi; also found in southeastern Angola.

Shua - the major click language of the Panda-ma-tenga area; also includes Danisin and other dialects of the Mababe area.

//gabake - Hiechware and Ganade are included here; spoken at Panda-ma-tenga, Nata and possibly in the Wankie area; very closely related to Shua.

Deti - the language of the Tete or Tletle people who live along the Botlete River; not mutually intelligible with //gabake although they are genetically related.

Nharo - the main click language spoken on the Ghanzi Farms; there are several important related dialects: N/hai, spoken in the Lake Ngami area,[1] //gana of Central Bechuanaland, and /Gwi of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

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For a more complete catalogue of dialects, the reader is referred to Westphal (1963:248ff). His use of the term Hottentot to apply to the above peoples who are ethnically Bushmen is unfortunate, since he has not demonstrated that the Tshu-khwe peoples are, in fact, derived from the Hottentot. It is more likely that both are derived from a common

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[1] Westphal considers this as a separate language. I found it to be only a dialect of Nharo.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

• 197 [114] proto-Hottentot, proto-Bushman ancestor.

Bush - Unlike the five Tshu-khwe languages, the three Bush languages cannot, on the basis of accepted linguistic procedures, be shown to be genetically related. The author, in an attempt to replicate Westphal's vocabulary comparisons, made a lexicostatistic trial on two languages: Bush A (!Kung), and Kharo (a Tshu-khwe language). The percentage of cognates was 11.5% but no rules of regularized sound shifts could be demonstrated between the two languages. Therefore the possibility is strong that the incidence of cognates is fortuitous or due to borrowing. The same low order of cognation was found when Bush A was lexicostatistically compared with Bush B.

The three Bush languages are:

A. !Kung; the subject of this dissertation. Also known in the literature as Kung, !xũ, Auen, Kaukau, and //au//ei; !Kung speakers extend from the Ghanzi farms in the south through western Bechuanaland and northeastern South West Africa, north into Angola.

B. ǂhũa; also known as Magong, !xõ (not to be confused with !xũ), !xoŋ, ǂwaewani.[1] These people live south of Ghanzi farms and extend into the Kalahari Gemsbok Game Reserve of South Africa.

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[1] ǂ is the symbol for the 5th Bushman click, known as the kiss click. This click is confined to Bush B, C and D languages and therefore not considered in the linguistic sketch of Chapter I.

• 197 C. -ŋ/huki; also known as ≠khomani (Doke 1936) and //n-!ke (Bleek 1929). A very small group now confined to the Gemsbok Park.

The numerical strength of the various Tshu-khwe and Bush languages are estimated as follows:

Xũ (Kwengo)	2,000
Shua (Danisin etc.)	3,000
//gabake (Hiechware etc.)	10,000
Deti (Tletle)	2,000
Nharo (/gwi, //gana etc.)	9,000
Bush A (!Kung)	13,000
Bush B (≠hũa)	1,600
Bush C (ŋ/huki)	50
TOTAL	40,650

The remaining 3,450 Bushmen of the estimated total of 44,100 include over 3,000 Hai//om (Heikum) in South West Africa. These people speak a dialect of Nama Hottentot and have a tradition of hunting and gathering although only a small proportion do so today. Also included in the remainder are a small group of people around Lake Chrissie in the [101] Eastern Transvaal. They are locally known as Batwa and number [114] less than one hundred. Westphal includes them as his Bush D language and calls them "//xegwi." (See also Lanham and Hallowes 1956; Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955).

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The !Kung Bushmen

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131
162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

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553
19 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%).

[114] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but
[193] none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

101 131 162 241 197 551 184 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions have the institution of the name relationship.

101 The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ" meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all!

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1] At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, Ghung, //Khun, /Kũng, ǂhũ, !xũ, !Khũ, :un, !Kung.

101 appelation "!Kung". They said it was a term of opprobrium used of them by the Bantu.

The southern division !Kung were the first of the tribe to appear in the ethnographic literature. They are described by Baines (1864) and Chapman (1868) as "Ma'kow'kow". Later workers have called them ǂAuin (Kaufmann 1910), //kau//en (Bleek 1928), ǂAo-//ǃin (Fourie 1928), Makaukau, and Auen (Schapera 1930). All these forms appear to be corruptions of the name ǂd"au//ae, which is currently in use among the Bushmen of the Ghanzi District. This is the Nharo name for the !Kung Bushmen; it means literally "north side" and reflects the fact that the !Kung have traditionally been the northern neighbors of the Nharo. The !Kung commonly apply this label to themselves, saying "we are the ǂd"au//ae (north side) people".

• [197] [184] Since all three groups, calling themselves !Kũ, zũ/wãsi, and ǂd"au//ae, respectively, speak dialects of the same language, and since the latter two groups maintain a sense of ethnic identity through the name relation it is recommended that the name !Kung be adopted as the tribal appelation. It is the easiest of the three names to pronounce and it has had the widest currency in the literature.

[184] [224] [222] Of the three geographical divisions of !Kung, full time independent hunters and gatherers are found only among the central group.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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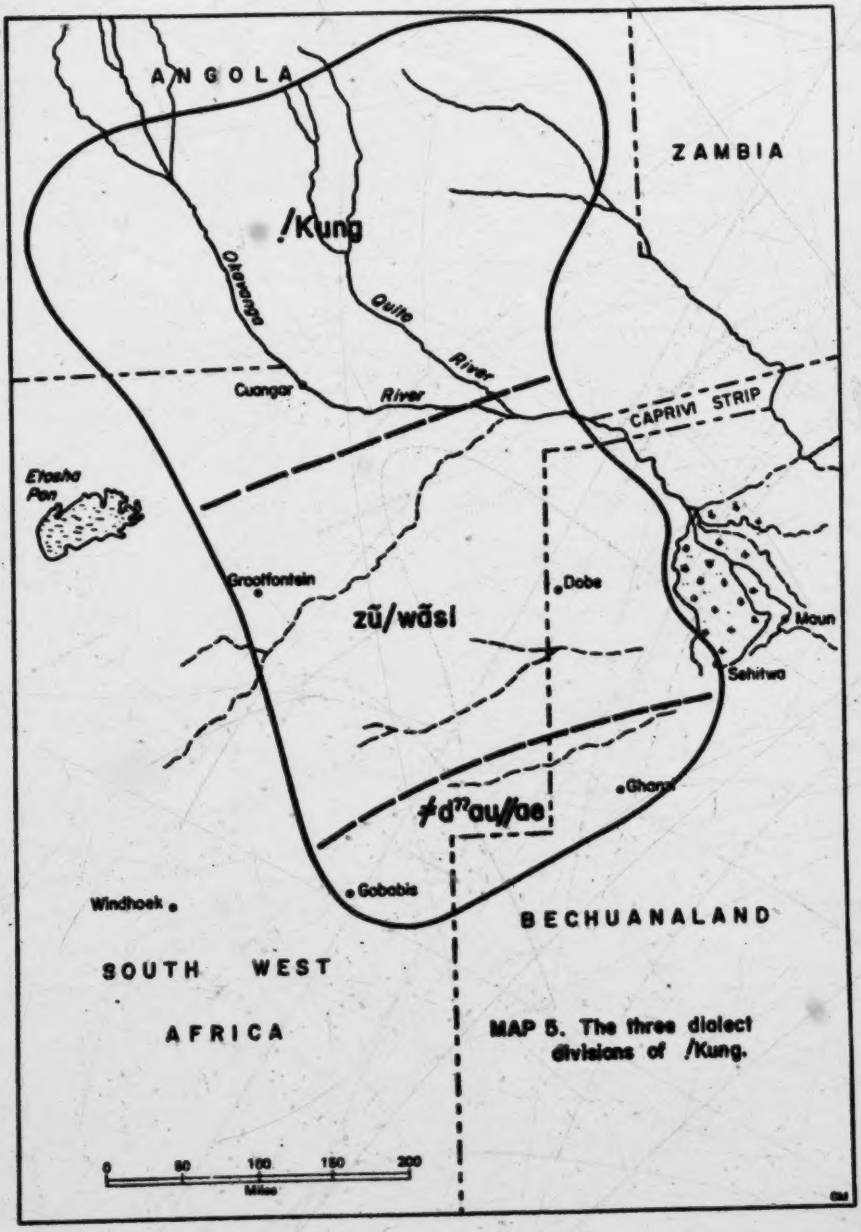

MAP 5. The three dialect divisions of /Kung.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

extent by racial intermixture with other native peoples. In the Eastern and Central Kalahari, moreover, as well as in Angola, most of them are also in a state of servitude to the Bantu peoples among whom they live. Large bands of relatively independent Bushmen are now found only in the North-Western Kalahari and the adjoining districts of South-West Africa, especially in the Omaheke, Kaukauveld, and Ghansiveld.

Tribal Divisions

The Bushmen are divided into many different groups, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. These groups will be spoken of here as tribes. The Bushmen do not appear to have any general or collective names for themselves. Such names have, however, been applied to them by most of the other inhabitants of South Africa. The Hottentots term them all *San*. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but Hahn interprets it as "aborigines, or settlers proper".[1] The names *Sunqua*, *Saunqua*, *Sonqua*, etc., by which the Bushmen are often referred to in the early records of the Cape, are merely verbal variations of its masc. plur. form *Sa(n)qua*. The Bantu peoples know the Bushmen by a variety of names, the most common of which are all cognate forms of the same root—*BaTwa* or *AbaTwa* (Zulu-Xosa), *BaRwa* (Suto), *MaSarwa* (Chwana), *OvaTwa* (Herero), etc. The meaning of this root has not been satisfactorily determined. A common interpretation is "people of the south", but this is not universally accepted; a more plausible alternative, perhaps, is "people of the wilderness". The name *Bushmen* itself goes back to the earliest Dutch settlers at the Cape, and is found as far back as 1685 in the Cape Records, where it occurs in several variations of its Dutch form—*Bosjesmans*, *Bosmanekens*, *Bosiesmans*, etc. It has now become generally adopted in ethnological literature and there seems no good reason why it should not be retained.

The languages of all the Bushmen tribes are of the same general structure, and can be regarded as belonging to one language family. They vary, however, in certain details of phonetics and especially of grammar and vocabulary, which permit of their classification into three main groups. To these the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively have been applied by Miss D. F. Bleek,

[1] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 1881, p. 3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous. They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1774), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east. They are divided into four main local groups, the *!Ogowe* of the Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa, the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and the *ǂKungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which, however, speak the same language and have identical customs and beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and 800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes by the names *!gei !kū*, "red people," or *!o !kū*, "forest people." They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long., and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola Kung, or *!O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been considerably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes referred to by the names applied to them by the Bantu: *BaKhankala* or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli* in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* ("tree dwellers"), who are scattered over a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.

[2] H. Werner, op. cit.; L. Fourie, "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63; *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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absorbed into the OvaMbo through racial intermixture. Werner, however, found some of them speaking a language of their own. The examples he gives of this show it to be closely related to the language of the Kung, so that the tribe can be regarded as falling within the Northern group of Bushmen. Its numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 1,000 and 1,500.

The CENTRAL GROUP is composed of many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, especially in the Central and Northern Kalahari. The languages of these tribes differ in some respects from those of the two previous groups, and present many close similarities to the Hottentot languages.

In close proximity to the Auen, by whom they are termed *Naron* (" insignificant people "), live the *//aikwe*, one of the best known of the Bushman tribes.[1] They are found principally in Bechuanaland Protectorate, their territory extending from Sandfontein in the west to Ghansi in the north-east and Okwa in the south-east. Further north and east, as far as Lake Ngami, are the closely related *Tsaukwe*, *Tsonokwe*, *ǂamkwe* and *!giŋkwe*, all friendly tribes, whose languages the *//aikwe* understand, and whom they include with themselves in the collective designation *K"am-ka Kwe*, " Mouth's people."[2]

Beyond them, in the marshy region extending from Lakes Ngami and Linyati in the south to the Okavango delta at Andara in the north, live the *Bugakwe*, *ǂgarikwe*, and *ǂgokwe*, who all speak the same language and term themselves collectively */tannekwe*, " river people."[3] In the sandy plains north and east of these tribes, between Okavango River and the Kwando, are the *Hukwe*, called *MaKwengo* by the MaMbukushu and *MaSarwa* by the BaRotse amongst whom they live. Still further east, between the Lower Kwando and the Zambesi Rivers, and probably extending into North-West Rhodesia, are the *Galikwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaDennassena*.[4] In

[1] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, Oldenburg n.d. (1891), pp. 388–99; S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907; Gentz, " Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 297–301; lxxxiv (1903), 156–9; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*, Cambridge, 1928.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 24; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 2.

[3] Passarge, " Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxvii (1905), 649–716; F. Seiner, " Ergebnisse einer Bereisung des Gebiets zwischen Okawango und Sambesi (Caprivi-Zipvel) in den Jahren 1905 und 1906," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxii (1911), 1–111; *idem*, " Die Buschmänner des Okawango- und Sambesigebietes der Nordkalahari," *Globus*, xcvii (1910), 341–5, 357–60.

[4] Seiner, op. cit.; J. C. B. Statham, *With my Wife across Africa by Canoe and Caravan*, London, 1924, 255–7; J. H. Wilhelm, " Aus dem Wortschatz der !Kun- und der Hukwe-Buschmannsprachen," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 291–304.

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619 197 physical characters and certain aspects of their culture, these tribes differ somewhat from the Naron and allied tribes, but their languages are of the same type.

619 South-east of Lake Ngami, in and around the Hainaveld, live the *Tserekwe*, *ǂdukwe*, and *ǂkabakwe*.[1] Further east, along the Botletle River and the south-east Okavango basin, are the *Ohekwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaTete*. Closely related to them are the *MaHura*, who live along the Lower Botletle and Lake Kumadau, extending in the east to the Makarrikarri depression.[2] The name these people are known by is obviously of Bantu origin; what they call themselves has not been recorded. Finally, in the Tati district on the eastern border of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and extending into the adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, are still other Bushmen, whose own name is apparently *Hiechware*, "people of the open country,"[3] but who are commonly spoken of simply as *MaSarwa*, a name which, as previously mentioned, is applied by the BeChwana to Bushmen generally. All these tribes have evidently been long exposed to Bantu influence, and are strongly mixed with Bantu blood. Some of them still lead their traditional mode of life, but they are all to some extent subject to their Bantu neighbours, often acting as their huntsmen and cattle herds, as well as being required to pay them a regular tribute.

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In addition to the tribes included in these main linguistic groups, there are two other groups of Bushmen of whom mention must be made. In the coastal province of Mossamedes, South-West Angola, a number of Bushmen are found between the Capondo River on the north and the Korocas River on the south.[4] Very little is actually known of them. They are spoken of only by their Bantu names—*BaKwando*, *BaKwisso*, *BaKubai*, and *BaKorocas*—and appear to have been considerably influenced in race and culture by the neighbouring Bantu. Their distribution suggests that they may belong to the Northern Group of Bushmen, but as no information is available about their language this cannot be definitely asserted.

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619 197 The other group comprises the few isolated inhabitants of the

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 25; R. Pöch, "Ethnographische und geographische Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," *Petermann's Mitt.*, lviii (1912), 15–20 and map.

[2] Passarge, loc. cit.; Pöch, op. cit.

[3] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37–112; *idem*, "Tati Bushmen," *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xii (1921), 205–8; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, London, 1925.

[4] J. Oliviera Ferreira Diniz, *Populaçoes indigénas de Angola*, Coimbra, 1918, 477–91.

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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *ǂganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in 1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

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Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

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621 /gom or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or
101 scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the
[114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

619 These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes".
101 A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ /ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tanneckwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechware* the "people of the open country", and the */o /kŭ* the "forest people", while the */kŭ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the
[177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social
[197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the
[623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In
[622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

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PART IV

CHAPTER XV

The Khoisan Languages

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The Bushmen, as we have previously seen, are divided into a number of separate tribes, each speaking a language or dialect of its own. These languages are all so clearly related that they must be regarded as belonging to the same language family. Owing to certain variations in phonetics, grammatical structure and vocabulary, they have been classified by Miss Bleek into three main groups, to which she applies the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively, in accordance with the relative geographical distribution of the tribes speaking them.[1] The Hottentot languages are on the whole strongly akin to those of the Bushmen, but at the same time differ from them all except Naron, in certain features showing an affinity with the Hamitic languages of North and North-East Africa. They have, therefore, been generally looked upon as essentially Hamitic languages, which have become greatly modified by the incorporation of Bushman elements, especially in phonetics and vocabulary.[2] It has recently been demonstrated, however, that fundamentally, they have far more in common with the Bushman than with the Hamitic languages.[3] They must accordingly be included with the former in the same language family, of which they constitute a fourth distinct group.

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Of the Bushman languages the only one at all well documented is */xam*, the language of the Cape Bushmen, which may be taken

[1] "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof* (1927) 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, 1–6.

[2] This view, already advocated in 1880 by Lepsius, following upon Dr. Bleek's indications, has been expressed most forcibly in recent times by Meinhof, who in his *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, selects Nama as a type language for illustrative purposes; cf. also his paper on "The Language of the Hottentots", in *Addresses delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and S. African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii, 119–29. For criticisms of his standpoint, cf. Drexel, "Gliederung der afrikanischen Sprachen," *Anthropos*, xx (1925), 82 ff., and Planert, "Die Schnalzsprachen," *Bibliotheca Africana*, ii (1926), 298 ff.

[3] D. F. Bleek, ut cit.; Schapera, "The Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 855 ff.; *idem*, *Comparative Grammar of the Khoisan Languages*, MS.; cf. also Planert, "Die Sprache der Hottentotten und Buschmänner," *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.*, viii (1905), Abt. iii, 104–76.

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as representative of the Southern Group.[1] Grammatical sketches are also available of */Khũ* (*Kung*) and *//K'au //en* (*Auen*), representing the Northern Group, and of *Hie* (the language of the Hiechware or "Tati Masarwa") and *Naron*, representing the Central Group[2]; but of the other Bushman languages, and this includes the great majority of those spoken in the Kalahari Desert at the present time, only short vacabularies at best have so far been published. Of the four Hottentot languages, again, the only one fully available for comparison is *Nama*, of which we possess several good grammatical studies and dictionaries.[3]

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The following sketch in no way claims to provide a complete or even adequate comparative study of the Khoisan languages. It is intended merely to illustrate briefly the principal features characteristic of them, to show how far these features are shared by them all, and what differences exist. A note must be added on the method adopted in the discussion of grammar. This will be dealt with under two heads: (*a*) Grammatical Processes or Technique, i.e. the various mechanisms employed for the expression of meanings, and (*b*) Syntax, i.e. the ways in which the various grammatical categories are expressed. In the former case we consider the different formal processes of the languages and note what their functions are; in the latter we consider the different grammatical functions and categories and note the formal processes employed to express them. The two parts are therefore complementary, and between them should give a serviceable picture of the general grammatical structure.

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PHONETICS[4]

Except in the case of */Khũ* and *Nama*[5] no detailed scientific studies have been made of the phonetic systems of the Khoisan languages.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1911 (texts); D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Grammar," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xix (1928–9), 81–98; Meriggi, "Versuch einer Grammatik des */xam*-Buschmännischen," ibid., 117–53, 188–205.

[2] Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Kũ-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37 ff., esp. 56–112; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 1928 (Grammatical Sketches: Naron, 51–60; Auen, 60–4); cf. also Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891 (Naron grammar and vocabulary, 540–52).

[3] The most useful sources are: Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1909 (grammar and texts; bibliography); Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 1907 (texts 387–545); Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, vol. ii, 1923 (texts in the Bergdama dialect, 62–131); Kroenlein, *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin*, 1889 (best dictionary).

[4] The orthography employed in the following pages and throughout the book is that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in its Memorandum I: *Practical Orthography of African Languages*, except in the case of the "clicks", for which the long-established conventional symbols are used.

[5] Doke, "The Phonetics of the Language of the ǂhũ Bushmen," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 129–65; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1–44.

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buck". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

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The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in */Khū* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

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